80

NEW AGE

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF BOOKS
24 JAN 1940
MADRAS
6 8D
393

ITOR: H.D.RAJAH.

NOVEMBER 1935.
Vol. II. No. 6.

The United India Life Assurance Company, Ltd.

Head Office : Madras.] **[Established in 1906.**

Trustee :—The Official Trustee of Madras.

Policies in force exceed ... **Rupees Three Crores.**
Annual income exceeds ... **Rupees Seventeen Lakhs.**
Total Assets exceed ... **Rupees Sixtynine Lakhs.**

Among the distinguishing features of the Company are:—

Complete and Absolute Safety of Investments

Prompt and Equitable Settlement of Claims

Economical Management

Moderate rates of Premiums Combined with Attractive Bonuses and

Efficient, Sympathetic and Prompt Service to Policy-holders

Complete information will be gladly furnished on application to the Head Office, Branch Offices, or the Representatives of the Company at the various places in our Country.

HEAD OFFICE:
" United India Assurance Buildings",
Sembudoss Street,
Post Box No. 281, MADRAS.

M. K. Srinivasan,
Managing Director.

Amrutanjan

BEST INDIAN PAIN BALM.

FOR

The "New Age"

and for all ages to come.

Sold by the million. Sold Everywhere.

24 JAN 1940 MADRAS

The South India Co-operative Insurance Society, Ltd.

Telegrams "SICOIS" Head Office: MADRAS. Telephone 3738.
Post Box No. 182.

President:—V. RAMADAS PANTULU

THE

"SICOIS"

What it is and what it can do for you.

The South India Co-operative Insurance Society or it is more familiarly known as the "**SICOIS**" is the official Life Insurance Organisation of the Co-operative Movement of South India founded in 1932 and going Strong.

Apart from the fact that Insurance in some form or other is required by everyone, Co-operators and masses should support "**SICOIS**"—their own Insurance Organisation and by so doing they are sure of a square deal and a sound contract at a minimum cost.

To obtain maximum value in life assurance, you must have "**A SICOIS LIFE POLICY.**"

Low Premium rates and all kinds of plans.

For full particulars apply to:—**The Secretary,**
South India Co-operative Insurance Society Ltd.,
Post Box No. 182, Madras.

Books You Cannot Miss !

WORLD DEPRESSION By K. T. SHAH, Pages 271. Price Rs 1-8-0.
A Book of international importance surveying the genisis and causes of the world depression and suggesting daring methods to economic recovery. No Student, or Professor or a politician can afford to remain without a copy of this work.

Prof. K. T. Shah is a well-known economist of international reputation and his latest work is an original contribution to the problem facing the world to-day.

IS IT A CRIME ? By H. D. RAJAH Pages 224. Price Re. 1
A social theme boldly conceived and splendidly portrayed. Mr. H. D. Rajah is well known as a public man and his work 'Is it a Crime?' has thrown light on many important baffling problems of our society and has given lead in solving them.

The Hindu Says:—"The Novel is indeed a clarion call to our reformers to sweep away the cob-webs of ages and to restore purity to our social system... Mr. Rajah has done a distinct service."

The Indian Express writes:—"The book is highly provocative of thought for those who have the welfare of society at heart. It is written in an easy and arresting style and deserves to be in the hands of all well-wishers of the nation and its forward march."

SPARKS FROM OUR LIFE By H. D. RAJAH, As 4.
In this small book, Mr. Rajah has given the best of life in the form of stories and interesting sketches. They are so true, that you will have a very interesting time of it when you go through them. Read and you will know what the book is !

EVOLUTION OF THE CONGRESS By U. C. GOPALAN, As. 4.
This book contains a short history of the Congress from its beginning up to the introduction of Montford reforms. Every student of history and politics ought to have a copy of the same.

LIFE OF DEVALERA (in Tamil) By BALAKUMAR, Price As. 6 only.
In this book, the life of De Valera, the great Irish Patriot who is now guiding the destinies of Ireland is given. It contains a graphic description of how Ireland fought for her freedom, the role Mr. De Valera played and the success Ireland achieved. It inspires you and sets you thinking. You cannot miss a copy.

ROOSEVELT & NEW AMERICA By A. G. Venkatachary, As. eight.
This book will be shortly published by this Company. It is a bold approach to the problems of America which are facing President Roosevelt and gives an excellent account of the various measures Mr. Roosevelt is adopting for his country's recovery. It is an indispensable book to every one and all. Send for a copy at once.

The National Literature Publishing Co., Ltd.

3, KONDI CHETTY STREET, MADRAS.

THE NEW AGE

(Published Every Month)

Annual Subscription Re. 1. (inland) **Single Copy Two Annas**
(*including postage*) **Rs. 2.** (foreign) **,, Three ,,**

In response to the requests of our well wishers and with a view to make this Journal easily available to all rich and poor, we have gladly reduced its subscription to Re. 1 per year. As the 'New Age' is intended to serve society by spreading the gospel of a new social order we appeal to the public to take advantage of this concession and help the cause of the Journal by enlisting themselves in large numbers as subscribers.

All communications intended for publication should be addressed to the Editor. The Editor is not responsible for any statements or views expressed by contributors. The articles intended to be published in the magazine should reach the office before the 25th of every month. The articles should be legibly written on one side of the paper only. Typed manuscripts will be preferred. The pages of this journal are open for expression of advanced thoughts on political, social and economic problems.

Business notice :—All business correspondence and all moneys and cheques intended for the journal should be sent to the Manager.

For particulars regarding advertisement rates and sale of copies apply to the Manager.

Wanted: Capable young men to canvass Subscribers and advertisements for the Journal on decent salary or commission.

Apply to :—The Manager,
THE NEW AGE.

3, Kondi Chetti Street, Madras.

CONTENTS

		Pages
1.	Passing Thoughts on Socialism	201
2.	Home Authorities and the Army in India ...	205
3.	The Madras Presidency Youth Conference, Madras...	209
4.	Development of Socialist Thought	212
5.	The Indian Peasant; Congress Vs. Govt. ...	217
6.	The Madras Presidency Youth Conference ...	220
7.	Is not Nationalism Dangerous?	225
8.	United Front—Bogus and Genuine	227
9.	Some Recent Impressions About The U. S. S. R. ...	228
10.	President Masaryk's Eighty-Fifth Birthday ...	230
11.	Young France, The Republic, and World Peace ...	234
12.	Review	237
13.	Notes and Comments	238

In the name of civilisation—Robbing the Criminals—
The Radical Youth Conference—The A. I. C. C. Meeting—
The Madras Corporation and Nariman.

A

OUR BALANCE SHEETS TELL THE TALE

Founded in the wake of Swadeshism, the 'NATIONAL' of Calcutta has grown from strength to strength with the result that it is to-day one of the leading Life offices of the East. During nearly thirty years of business-building, it has been able to accumulate assets worth more than Rs. 2,50,00,000, despite the fact that within so short a period a sum exceeding Rs. 1,30,00,000 has been paid away by way of Claims to the Policyholders and their beneficiaries. These are facts which merit the earnest consideration of those who do not want to gamble with the savings of a life-time. Why not yours?

You have only to let us know your requirement and leave the rest to us.

NATIONAL INSURANCE CO., LTD.

HEAD OFFICE:—CALCUTTA.

For Agency terms etc. apply to:—

The Organising Secretary,
Sub-Office,
171, New Street, Madura.

Branch Secretary,
National Insurance Co., Ltd.
362, China Bazaar Road,
Esplanade, Madras.

The Chief Agency,
Arcot Srinivasachari St.,
Bangalore City.

FOR FIRE AND MOTOR ACCIDENT

Insurance consult the associated

NATIONAL FIRE AND GENERAL INSURANCE CO., LTD.

82719

E

The New Age

VOL. II NOVEMBER 1935 NO. 6

PASSING THOUGHTS ON SOCIALISM.

By

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

Socialism is the ism that seeks to bring about a change in the existing Social order. It is a reform movement that strives to enlarge the basis of society and widen the scope of the state. Till recently the state began where society and its influence ended. Society largely addressed itself to the provision of food and raiment to its members, leisure and entertainment to those to whom food and clothing were assured. Gradually the State is being prevailed on to assume responsibility for all. Till recently the State was only collecting taxes and maintaining Law and Order. Now it is obliged to relieve unemployment. What an organization is obliged to concede in response to the clamour of its components on the basis of right, it soon would be obliged to perform as a matter of duty itself, irrespective of agitation from below. That is to say, the vital and operative principles of a movement which began as unrest or an agitation soon crystallize into a creed, a dogma that regulates the activities of the organization. Thus in the State as it prevails to-day, the inequalities and the inequities of the social order are sought to be remedied by the establishment of orphanages, the provision of old age pensions, the founding of hospitals, the opening of free schools, the organization of sickness, debility and accident insurance the introduction of maternity benefits, the guaranteeing of a living wage. All these, however, are the buttresses erected by the rich and the well-to-do to protect their well-built but fast crumbling castles. They are acts of charity performed in a spirit of condescension. But it is the labour of the poor cultivator that makes the land-lord rich, it is the skill of the starving craftsman that builds up the wealth of the merchant. It is the lascar who risks his life on the high seas that makes the Ship-owner a knight or a Baron. It is the journeyman that works all day long in the workshop that elevates the proprietor to the position and dignity of a captain of Industry. Thus the Land-lord, the Shipowner, the Commercial magnate and the Captain of Industry are all made by those that toil all day long and lead the life of a dog. The socialist naturally asks, how long shall this continue? How long shall the poor live on the doles of the rich? How long shall he be a hewer of wood and drawer

of water, without himself having a roof to live under, or the facilities for a full bath every day?

These are legitimate questions, but when they are asked in India, they come without a certain reality, though with an amount of irresistible force. In India we imitate the west, we copy its grave distempers and seek to apply its impotent remedies. Every upheaval in India is a poor and antiquated imitation of an earlier upheaval of England. The Industrial age began in England at the close of the 18th century. Economics soon developed into a noteworthy factor in politics. From being merely a source of political influence, it soon developed into a political issue. In England this politico-economic upheaval has distinct landmarks and by a strange coincidence, we notice that in India these upheavals have their reflexes. The 19th century witnessed the rise of the Liberals in England, in other words of Free-traders. Thus the political phraseology is seen to be directly related to an Economic issue. As Industrialism soon developed, the middle classes became influential and rose from the position of retail traders to that of 'wholesale merchants.' They acquired political influence, built up a political party and obtained a fairly wide extension of franchise in 1832 the year which witnessed the passing of the Charter Act of India by which were assured equal rights to Indians and Europeans in this country. In 1857, the working classes of England asserted their claims in big Industrial centres at any rate to Franchise; in India the people wanted to throw out the foreign yoke in 1857 and having failed in their attempt, made that yoke ever more heavy. The next instalment was in the year 1884 in which the agricultural labourers of England won their Civic rights. In India the Indian National Congress took its birth in 1885. In 1917 Russia established the Soviet Republic. India seeks Home Rule in the same year and fast develops its demand to Swaraj in 1921. Thus while England is making rapid strides toward real democracy, India is slowly striving to emancipate herself from alien domination. The political movements of India are thus the reflexes of simultaneous economic upheavals in Europe. While England is making rapid strides in Economics, India is hanging on to the apron strings of politics.

Is it any wonder then that to-day we should feel charmed by the stories of emancipation that reach us from Russia? But imitation carries us nowhere. The socialism of England is the protest against the tyranny of her newborn Industrialism. The Communism of Russia is the inevitable consequence of centuries of Despotic Rule. Armed and bloody revolution against autocracy has been the ruling factor of all history- ancient or modern. Whether it has paid the revolutionaries whether it has initiated a new millennium, whether it has improved the social and economic lot of those for whose good the rivers of blood have flown- is a matter of grave doubt. If every revolution had its desired result, it would not necessitate its successors. Before therefore a revolutionary plan and propaganda are undertaken- whether on the plane of violence or of nonviolence, it behoves those that are willing to sacrifice their all in the interests of the suffering masses to consider whether and how far a particular programme is designed to achieve the contemplated results.

In India it should obviously be our duty to study the principles of the distribution of land, the share of the State in its revenues, the obligations of the state to the subjects, the organization of national life in towns and villages, the structure of society in its social and economic aspects, the ideals of learning and wealth placed by the ancient lawgivers and the founders of Religion before the people of the land, the degeneration that has over-

taken the country under the onslaughts of foreign invasions, the multifaced character of British conquest of India, the responsibility of the West for the degradation of the East, the fleeting character of the modern influences, the need to restore the abiding principles on which ancient Indian society was founded, the resuscitation, of the healthy age-long doctrine of production for consumption, the scheme of self-sufficiency rural, district and provincial which India had enjoyed till recently, the havoc committed by the house-to-house hawking of Western goods from needle and thread to ribbon and hairpins in the village homes, the destruction of the village crafts, the absolute dependence of India and her 700,000 villages to-day on imported goods from the West, from dawn to dusk,—all these merit the careful study of the socialist or any other ist before he applies the ready-made doctrine of Western Socialism or any other ism to the task of reforming the social order of the East. This is really a shorter cut to the ideal of the socialist than the course he adopts, because the longest path is really the shortest way home. Thank Heavens, Industrialism with all its horrors has not yet penetrated or permeated the country. There are but a million and half Industrial 'hands' and if we wake up betimes, we may in time check the flood tide of this invasion of machinery which is a good servant but a bad master. We have not space enough for tackling this vast subject but let it be taken for granted that whatever advantages machinery may have- and they are numerous- it has enslaved the people, destroyed human skill, invaded the privacy of the home and disturbed the morals of the family, crippled the creative genius of the craftsman and killed his personality as well as independence. It has introduced international complications by rousing a sense of competition where the spirit of cooperation should have ruled their inter-relations and kindled a spirit of Imperialism with its attendant horrors of industrialism and militarism. It has annihilated time and distance and has brought nearer the countries of the world but thrown apart the nations one from the other. It has brought together the bodies but rent asunder the hearts and souls of the people.

A right issue in the right time carries a fight really far but a wrong issue diverts our course from the destination. We fight against capitalism and we ought to. This capitalism such as it is in India is largely created by Western Commerce behind which lie the cohorts of the Western powers. In the measure in which we assail Indian capitalism, in that measure the repercussions of our attack affect the wider interests of the foreigner lying behind it. Therefore we antagonize the foreign ruler and create a motive for the rich man in India to join hands with the foreigner. We are directly promoting an unholy alliance between the giant British capitalist and the pigmy Indian capitalist in order that they may jointly crush the socialist and the swarajist alike who come as the friends of the poor, at a time when the poor really stand to gain by an immediate relaxation if not removal of the incubus of foreign domination. Our methods therefore defeat our objects for thereby the third party's power is consolidated instead of being weakened. Is there not enough time and enough strength for the socialist to settle up affairs with the Indian capitalist after he has settled with the foreigner. Whether in the fulness of time the socialist pursues Satyagraha or the time-honowred methods of social, economic and political struggle, his strength will be unassailable.

Let us Indianise our ideal of socialism. Socialism is good and unchallengeable. We cannot any longer put up with the greed of the land-lord or the vagaries of his feudal hierarchy. We cannot any longer tolerate the distinctions of high and

low, related to birth, we cannot anylonger agree to keeping a fifth of the population under bondage to the remaining four-fifths of their fellow creatures. We must dispel the demon of drink and destroy the monster of untouchability. But we must also ensure them the poor victims a square meal throughout the year. Let us support the crafts and the arts of the village. What availeth it to the downtrodden poor, if we raise loud cries of socialism and buy foreign goods every moment of our lives? Let us not bury our poor brethren with sympathy and slogans, but keep them alive by helping them earn a few annas or even pies. Let us once again turn our vision from the West to the East from competition to co-operation, from force to good will, from matter to spirit, from the steering wheel to the spinning wheel and we shall have given proofs of our sincerity in professing to serve the poor in our country. The socialist will win, the moment he has a programme of day today work which brings tangible relief to the poor. The common cry of the needy to aggravate suffering in the starving order to kindle in them a spirit of revolution is unreasonable, apart from being heartless. It is therefore a tragedy to witness the socialist preaching against Khaddar and Village Industries and advising people to take to mill cloth and foreign cloth. 'Workers of the world, unite, for you have nothing to lose but your chains' is a splendid dictum, but what should we say if half the workers of the world are uniting to bind the other half with unbreakable chains of industrial and economic slavery? The socialist means well, but let him do nothing which would make the rich richer and the poor poorer. Neither the socialist nor the Congressman can make good except with the co-operation of the masses. And cooperation is but the outward expression of a feeling of confidence generated within. Let us do nothing which will impair the little confidence that we have created in the masses by long years of service and suffering. Slogans do not fill stomachs anymore than votes and the power of socialism duly coordinated to the tradition of the country and the foundations of the society to which it is made applicable—will be irresistable when its programme is a programme of action resulting in a tangible alleviation of suffering and sorrow in this woebegone land.

FOR EVERYTHING ELECTRICAL

Apply to :

Telephone :—2228.

C. SHUNMUGAM & CO.,

Electrical Engineers and Contractors,

61, CHINA BAZAAR, MADRAS.

Direct Importers of:—Hard drawn Bare Copper Wire.

All Electrical Accessories Both British and German, Etc.

HOME AUTHORITIES AND THE ARMY IN INDIA.

Some glaring facts about the army

The late Rev. Mr. Gleig wrote an article in the Edinburgh Review in 1853 and he concluded his article:—

"We have won an enormous empire with the sword which is growing continually larger. We established a system of Civil Administration there which protects the peasants and disgusts all the classes above him—with a large body of discontented gentry everywhere and whole clusters of Native Princes and Chiefs interposed through our Dominions, it is idle to say that the continuance of our Sovereignty depends from one day to another on anything except the army". The same can be rightly said of even now as the motive force behind the policy of control by the British war-office over the Indian army.

Ever since the administration of India has been transferred into the hands of the Crown, the Imperial grip over the Indian army is traceable. The first army commission appointed by the Crown in 1858 on 15th July with General Peel as Chariman changes the whole outlook and character of Indian army and by an examination of its report one would come to learn why and in whose interests the army of India should be controlled. They recommended that Artillery should not be kept in the hands of Indian soldiers and thus sealed the fate of Indians in Artilllery section. They fixed the ratio between the Indian and British troops and their other recommendations too were equally radical.

In the course of Histroy of India under the Crown we find many instances when Indian army shed its blood fighting for Imperial interests at several places in the world.

Other than in India and when the costs of such fights were to be paid from Indian Exchequer, we also hear some mild helpless protests from some of the sympathetic Viceroys against these glaring intances of inroads into the Indian income. First protest we hear from Lord Lawrence. During his Viceroyalty Abyssinian war was going on and Indian army was sent there to fight for the British. A proposal was made that the cost of tho Indian army was to be paid by the Indian Government and in this connection Lord Lawrence said:—

"I am very sorry to hear of the decision that India is to continue to pay for the ordinary expenses of the troops employed from this country in Abyssinia. It does not appear to me to be a fair arrangement and I fully anticipate that it will create a good deal of excitement and, perhaps some indignation; the more particularly as our finances are now at a very low ebb. Surely this is neither a question of hiring and lending, but simply one of payment by the country which employs the troops. I believe, that I am right in saying that all the expenses of the British troops employed in the Mutiny who came from England were paid out of the revenue of India. I recollect very well that in 1859 and 1860, was even charged for the cost of an unreasonably large number of men who where accumulated in the

depots in England, nominally for the Indian Service. Then again in last China war, all the pay and all the expenses of troops sent from India to China were charged to England. In the war with Persia in 1855-56, the expenses of the campaign were divided between India and England, because it was considered that both countries were interested in the objects of the war. In the present case, India has no interest whatever in the Abyssinian expedition and it appears therefore to me that it should pay none of its cost".

Lord Lawrence's protest though mild was right and said well when he denied India's interest in Abyssinian war. Again, to day Indian soldiers have been made to cross the seas and they are marking time before the offices of British Imperialism in Abyssinia, to protect the Imperialist interests if England is dragged into the war between Italy and Abyssinia!

Though some Viceroys of India meekly protested now and then against employing Indian army outside India except in her own interests, they never tried to reduce the British soldiers in India even where there were ample favourable circumstances and chances in their hands to do it. For instance when Lord Mayo was Viceroy, the Duke of Arggle, as Secretary of State for India sent a despatch to him to bring down the army expenditure in India by a million and half sterling. Lord Mayo was ready to do it but by reducing not British soldiers, but Indian soldiers. Major B. D. Basu, says in his book ' India Under the Crown' " They (British Statesmen) would rather have the number of Indian soldiers reduced rather than the number of British soldiers. Therefore, the army reform scheme of Lord Mayo was directed against the Indian troops. After Sepoy Mutiny, there had been a heavy reduction in the number of Indian troops and now came the second blow on the Indian soldiers." Then Major Basu quotes the following letter of Lord Mayo to one of her Majesty's Ministers:—

" One thing, I implore may not be done, and that is the removal of a single British bayonet or sabre from India. We can, I believe reduce our military expenditure by a million without giving up one of the little white-faced men in Red". Why all this fear of reducing British soldiers for Lord Mayo if it is not in the interests of Imperialism?. Again Major Basu quotes a few following lines from his public despatch a few days later:—

" We should most strongly object to any reduction of their (British soldier) number, because we are convinced that such a step could not be taken without endangering and weakening authority, one of the main-stays of British rule ".

He lightens our work by openly admitting it to himself. Again no less a personage than the same Excellency Lord Mayo wrote in his last despatch on army question:—

"We cannot think that it is right to compel the people of this country to contribute one farthing more to military expenditure than the safety and defence of the country absolutely demands."

But where Lord Mayo did not dare to, Lord Ripon ventured to do and only partially succeeded in disbanding some of the British troops, owing to the fear of offending the military susceptibilities at home. To the objections of the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Ripon replied:—

"It is impossible for the finances of India to bear the burden of additional military expenditure. Every branch of our Civil administration is already starved and therefore if our cadres are to be increased in strength, it can only be done by diminishing their number. But then your Royal Highness presses upon me that if we send home from hence batteries and regiments and bat-

talions they will be disbanded. That I venture to say is not my business. If it is necessary for English objects to maintain a more expensive military organisation in India than India herself requires, then I say distinctly that England ought to pay for the extra cost of the military organisation required by and suited to her circumstances and condition; but I am not ready if your Royal Highness will pardon me for saying so and to be a consenting party to taxing the people of the country, who are a very poor people, merely to save the pockets of richer tax payers at home."

The above lines show us how pressing were the demands of military authorities at home and how unjustifiable they were. The following lines of the same Lord will elucidate the matter more plainly. In 1882 England was engaged in putting down the Arabic Rebellion in Egypt and Indian army was sent there once again to shed the blood for the sake of English Imperialism. Surely India had no more interest in it than that it had in Abyssinia expedition. But, home authorities again professed to tax the Indian poor peasant than touching the pockets of the richer tax-payers at home. In this connection Lord Ripon wrote to Harington:

"... What is there in it to justify you in making the ryot pay an anna for military expenditure more than is absolutely necessary. I will not say for the maintenance of tranquility in India, but for the utmost needs of the English Government in the country? The truth of the matter is, I fear, very simple; you have got a Parliament at home and you do not like either to ask it for more money or to face the outcry which would be raised against large military reductions. Therefore you impose a whole unnecessary burden on the people of India, where there is no Parliament to ask awkard questions or to make inconvenient resistance. This may be all very convenient to you at home, may help children to get over difficulties with the Duke of Cambridge and may make things pleasant in Parliament, but to my mind it is not just. The Cabinet, I admit has got the giant's strength, and it is using it like a giant."

Afterwards England paid £500,000 ie less than half the cost of the Indian contingent.

By the control of Indian army only British Imperialism wove its web in Asia and Africa and is enabled to maintain it. Indian army always remained at the command of the British home war authorities and this was admitted by Lord Curzon, one of the supporters of British Imperialism in his introduction to 'The Indian corps in France'. He said:—

"The Indian army in fact has always possessed and has been proud of possessing a triple function; the preservation of internal peace in India itself; the defence of the Indian frontiers and preparedness to embark at a moment's notice for Imperial services in other parts of the Globe. In this third aspect India has for long been one of the most important units in this scheme of British Imperial defence, providing the British Government with a striking force always ready of admirable efficiency and admirable valour."

Home authorities sometimes did not even consult the Indian Government on questions affecting India and some of the Secretaries of State denied plainly the right of consultation and this is made clear by the Minto-Morley controversies. After Anglo-Russian convention, Morley thought that military expenditure of India could be reduced. But Minto did not agree with him and especially the policy to be pursued towards Southern Persia and the gulf. Morley wrote: "China, Persia, Turkey, Russia, France, Germany, I have never been able to understand, and never shall understand, what advantages the

Government of India have for comprehending the play of all these factors in the great game of Empire. On the contrary, the Government of India is by no means the man on the spot. That what I say again, is just what the Government of India is not."

Lord Minto replied: "I don't see how Indian interests in Persia and the Gulf can be handed over entirely to home administration, for if this were done, putting aside political matters, any military expenditure in Persia or naval expenditure in the Gulf could not fairly be charged to India. And yet we know that as a matter of fact in the case of difficulties arising in Persia it would be upon Indian troops that His Majesty's Government would be obliged to rely." At more than one place in their correspondence we find instances of the control from above.

The Great War broke out in 1914. Once again the Indian army was set in motion by the British Imperial war authorities to fight for it but this time to shed more blood than it had in the past and in more critical times when the question of life and death for imperialism involved. The Indian army fought in France, Flanders, East Africa, Aden, Mesopotamia, Gallipoli, Salonika, Egypt, and Palestine. The Mesopotamia and Palestine campaigns were mainly won by India. Indian casualties amounted to 100,000 including nearly 30,000 deaths. 250 crores were added to her rupee debt. And what did India gain but debt and deaths.

The above are all instances when British war authorities directly engaged Indian army for their interests. This is not all. This is only one point of view. But from another point there were instances when some Viceroys who were more interested in Imperial designs than Home authorities themselves, engaged the Indian army for Imperial conquests without the real consent of the home authorities. For instance Lord Curzon engaged the Indian army in the conquest of Tibet and as Mr. P. E. Roberts says on very flimsy reasons. Except 700 dead Tibetans he gained nothing by that.

In July 1919 Secretary of State for India with the conference of the Secretary of State for war appointed the famous Esher Committee to inquire and report on the administration and organisation of army in India. One question it was to report was the relations between the war office and the Indian army and the observations it made on this point are interesting. The whole report was based on the assumption that Indian army should be maintained in manner suited to Imperial necessities.

They recommended that the Commander-in-chief in India should have the right to communicate to the Chief of the Imperial general Staff on questions affecting the organisation of the army and strategical plans, thus by ensuing the uniformity of military policy between Great Britain and India. It evoked a great criticism that Legislative Assembly passed this resolution:

"That the purpose of the army in India must be held to be the defence of India against external aggression and the maintenance of an internal peace and tranquillity. For any purpose other than those mentioned in the first sentence the obligation resting on India should be no more onerous than those resting on the self-governing Dominions and should be undertaken subject to the same conditions as are applicable to those Dominions.

(b) To repudiate the assumption under-lying the whole report of the Esher committee (1) That the administration of the army in India cannot be considered otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire

and,

(2) That the military resources of India should be developed in a manner suited to Imperial necessities."

Inspite of the unprecedented valour and discipline of Indian army in wars like Great War, when respected men like Sir Sivaswami Iyer talk of Indianisation of army, the Home authorities have got the audacity to say that Indians are not fit to defend themselves. Perhaps, Indian army is to pass another test in next world war before it is placed under Indian control!

M. R. R.

THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY YOUTH CONFERENCE, MADRAS.

OPENING ADDRESS OF MR. H. D RAJAH.

Fellow Delegates and Friends,

I have been commanded by the organisers of this Conference to say a few words while declaring this Conference open. We are meeting now at a very important stage in the History of our Nation. While we are hearing of Conferences and meetings in various parts of the Presidency where resolutions of a reactionary and retrograde type are passed in connection with the political and other movements, it is something of a relief to hear about a Conference of radical youths of the Presidency who are meeting to discuss matters affecting their country. Youths are the pioneers of every forward movement. They are the vanguard of the Nation. They have the spirit of resistance and capacity to brave all dangers of life. Their idealism and faith in their own cause have made it possible to create upheavals which have brought lasting and beneficial results to humanity. In every phase of life Youth plays a dominant role and it has been the privilege of the young to revolt and lead.

Look at the history of the last two C.D. movements. It is Youth that goaded on the leaders of the National Congress to launch an offensive against Imperialism in order to win complete freedom of our land. It is the Youth Movement that insisted upon the National Congress to declare its object as the winning of complete independence. Under Gandhian leadership the majority of the Civil resisters who courted sufferings and imprisonments are youths. Even today the bulk of the organisers of workers and peasants and those who are seriously carrying on a campaign of resistance against Imperialism are all youths.

The youth movement is a sublime movement of the flower of our nation. When we are faced all round by intellectual stagnation and bankruptcy of ideas on the part of our leaders, and when the country is progressively deteriorating towards idealogical stalemate and the leaders are capitulating and surrendering to Imperialism, it is the duty of youths to supply creative ideas and save the nation from disaster. The youth

movement will galvanise all the forward and radical forces of the country to fight against this reaction and surrender.

I am glad to find that the majority of the delegates who have assembled here are all those who have courted immense suffering on behalf of the country under the flag of the Congress. It is noteworthy to find their disappointment in the congress which now talks of acceptance of office under imperialist benevolence, crystallising into a solid movement for continued fight and resistance. We should not allow the congress to demoralise itself. With its demoralisation, the country will be demoralised and the morale of the nation ruined. The congress should be kept as an anti-imperialist organisation which will work till complete independence of our country is won. The reactionary leaders now dominating the congress should be weeded out of it or they should be politely asked to quit the congress. The congress should represent the bulk of our countrymen, the workers and the peasants and it should lead the masses to fight against tyranny and exploitation by Imperialism and its allies - Indian capitalism and landlordism. The congress was built up on the bones of the mass of our countrymen who have shed their blood and given their lives to keep up the glory and prestige of the nation. Therefore the congress should not be allowed to lower its ideal of anti-Imperialist front.

It is unfortunate that with the exit of Gandhiji from the Congress the field had been made very clear for the reformist elements of the country to domineer it and follow a programme of absolute futility. If any of you think that independence can be won by water-tap-flow like speeches of the congress members in the Assembly, then you are sadly mistaken; and for all purposes that is the only programme which the congress is now engaged in. It was said when the council programme was adopted that it was intended to prevent any mischief that the executive may do to the country, but recent history has demonstrated the futility of this claim and one of the blackest Acts of the land was passed and included by the machinations of an irresponsible executive in spite of the resistance offered by the Legislative Assembly. No doubt the Congress party members in the Assembly with the support of some others were able to inflict numerous paper defeats on the Executive. But they remain on the paper and the administration goes on merrily. Therefore our main duty is to chalk out a programme of work which will make our demand for complete national indepenednce irresistible. We have to organise the masses into disciplined forces to wrest freedom from our masters. Therefore any one who offers conditional co-operation or who is willing to surrender by agreeing to work the new constitution should be considered as an ally of Imperialism and as such should be discredited. For a slave nation like ours compromise is unthinkable. We can either fight and win freedom or be annihilated in the process. But it is monstrous to imagine that the patriots of our land will willingly offer co-operation to Imperialism and perpetuate it in our land.

The argument that those who are in favour of acceptance of office are doing so only in the interest of the country in order to strengthen the fight for Swaraj will not hold water for a second. For, the Constitution that is framed and imposed upon India has forestalled all these eventualities and is made fool proof. It is only those who think loosely that do not understand this. When the Congress accepts office, it becomes an active partner with Imperialism and a partner interested in exploitation cannot be expected to fight for the rights of those whom he exploits.

But I am not one of those who believe in non-co-operation or boycott of any institution which affords an opportunity

for propaganda and exposure of the wrongs of our rulers. Coupled with the mass strength outside if all such institutional instruments of Imperialism are used for either making them unworkable or in order to wreck them, that step should be welcomed by all and you should be jubiliant over that programme and should give all your support to those who agree to a scheme based upon the above objective. It must be our paramount duty to encourage such possibilities of work and challenge the powers that be with such means. In the course of a week, the All India Congress Committee is meeting in the City and I hope all of you will demonstrate your feelings in this matter in the most effective way possible.

A grave international menace has been created by the fascist Imperialist blood-thirsty Mussolini by his declaring a war against Abyssinia, the only indepen dent country in Africa ruled by a black-Monarch. It has neither the modern implements of warfare, nor is it sufficiently developed industrially to manufacture the sinews of war. It is the Imperialistic designs and ambitions of Mussolini that have precipitated this war and our sympathies go to the victims of Italian aggression especially to the youths of Abyssinia. Let us hope that the war will be ended soon on account of the effective intervention of the other powers.

I said that the youths are the vanguard of the nation. Let me say at once that this statement is not concerned to their politics alone. As they are progressive in their out look in politics, they should be also pioneers and torch bearers of other movements—social, economic and so on. They shall not be parties to inequalities in life based upon birth, affluence or position. Youth has no barriers of caste, creed or community. It is only the narrow-minded bigots who stand to gain some petty things that think in the above terms and not those who are enlightened and noble. Youth movement should be based on high culture, noble sentiments and practical service to our fellow men in every walk of life. It should have nothing to do with antiquated and stupid conventions and the movement should aim at breaking the shackles of slavery even in domestic life. Then alone we can call it a youth movement, a radical youth movement.

I am very much pained to see in Madras a number of sectarian youth leagues in existence. The non-brahmin youth league, the muslim youth league, the christian youth league and so on. The sponsors of these youth leagues do not realise the great mischief done by such division and we cannot raise our head as a united compact force if such division continues. Youth should be identified with everything progressive and it is absurd to imagine a youth movement in water-tight compartments. I hope all of us who have assembled here to-day will carry the message of unity and fraternity to one and all and launch this movement which will unify all youths under one banner and help to spread the gospel of freedom in every part of this presidency without fear or favour.

We have in our midst to-day one of the distinguished public workers of Bombay Miss Mani ben Kara as the President of this Conference. Miss Kara is known for her sterling qualities as a sincere worker and an idealist. Fired by the revolutionary enthusiasm of a Workers and Peasants' republic she has thrown herself heart and soul into the vortex of politics and her name is a house hold word in Bombay as a true champion of the cause of the down trodden and the oppressed. Though born in a bourgeois family she has de-classed herself and she has found out that to be rich is criminal, and that capital or wealth is only the acumulated labour robbed from the poor. She has discarded all the comforts and privileges which a bourgeois can enjoy at others' expense and has come out boldly to champion the cause of those who are the disinherited

and expropriated bulk of humanity. It is only in the fitness of things that such a worker should preside over this Conference.

Our task does not stop here. We must carry the message of this Conference to every home and kindle the fire of a new social order in every one's heart. If you are animated by the sublime feelings of revolutionary fervour, then the country need not despair of its past labours or the present position. Success is sure to come and we shall play our own humble part to bring the goal nearer.

Long Live the masses !

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

FROM MARX TO LENIN

By **M. R. Raju, B.A., L.L.B.**

First stage of capitalism ie merchant capitalism just departed yielding place to the second stage of capitalism ie industrial capitalism ; machinery was installed above the demonstrations and violent protests of the workers which sometimes took the historical forms as the movement of Leuddites in England; the workers were forming into trade unions the first of whose kind was in 1794 in England and the first economic crisis of 1825 of whose series are to be extinguished only with the extinction of capitalism in human world war to make its appearance just after a period of seven years, when Marx, the philosopher, the agitator and the revolutionary was born.

Karl Marx, the first scientific communist lived from 1818 to 1883 with his hero friend Engels who lived between 1820 and 1895. Marx was for a long time a studious student of the philosopher Hegel from whose philosophy he later on differed and evolved his scientific socialist philosophy whose basic principle is quite the opposite of Hegel's. Marx propounded the well known theory of dialectical materialism. According to Hegel there is some 'absolute' or 'idea' existing somewhere from eternity and to Hegel dialectics meant the progress of ideas by means of contradictions towards that 'idea' and such development according to him is 'self motion' (ie. subjective). But to Marx dialectics is the progress caused by conflict of contradictions both in society and nature as well and which is reflected in man's mind (ie objective). He worked a revolution in Hegel's philosophy and placed the modern materialism on its feet. In short, Hegel said there is a tree because man thinks that there is a tree, but Marx said man thinks that there is a tree because objectively the tree is existing.

With the application of dialectics to human history Marx explains the society as it is *ie* how social, religious, legal and political relations among man-

kind are mainly dependent on the modes of production and exchange. According to his analysis a particular social system is safe so long the productive forces in that system can find scope for development and expansion but when obstacles are placed in its progress, a crisis comes when it will blow up the shells of the then existing social relations and form another system where it can develop unhindered. That is how the systems of serfs and guilds were torn asunder by the bourgeoisie productive forces and this is how this bourgeoisie system will be blown up by the proletariat, the present day productive forces. Marx also explains how state is a class concept and instrument of exploitation and how it will wither away in a classless society ie in communism.

Karl Marx was a rebel against utopian socialism and he was of strong opinion that labour must save itself. Once he said "Communism as taught by Cabet......and others is a dogmatic abstraction.........we do not then proclaim to the world in doctrinaire fashion any new principle: 'This is the truth, bow down before it!' We do not say: 'Refrain from strife, it is foolishness!' We only make clear to men for what they are really struggling and to the consciousness of this they must come whether they will or not." Marx and Engels drew out the famous Communist Manifesto. In that he traced the origin of capitalism, its growth and its struggles with proletariat in a beautiful manner. He declared that modern labourer would sink low day by day. He also declared that the prole tarians have nothing to loose but their chains. They have a world to gain." On issuing the manifesto, on 24th 1848 a revolution broke out in France. Many workers were assassinated.

His another famous theory is the theory of surplus value. According to his analysis, by giving the quantitative change to the product the labour power or variable captail is the source of surplus value, which in its turn is the source of profit to the capitalist class but since Marx some of the bourgeois economists find and try to refute this theory by attributing to the exchange instead of production the source of profit, which on the other hand according to simple Marxian economics can only explain some individual cases of capitalists but not the profits of the capitalist class as such. Some other bourgeois economists say that consumers are the creators of the value of the product but not the labour. If we prolong that argument it breeds absurdities. According to the protagonists of this ingenious argument, the consumers are the creators of value because if they don't consume, the products lie idle and their value is nill. It will be more logical, perhaps to say, that the mothers of all the consumers at a particular time are the creators of value because without the mothers they would not have been in existence.

His another radical theory is the theory of increasing Misery. In it he predicted after scientific investigation of past history that capital will be concentrated gradually in fewer and fewer hands, giving them scope for unbridled exploitation of surplus value by wearing the garb of monopoly which is a peculiar characteristic of capital in its imperialist stage and the wages will be gradually reduced so that a time comes when a crisis emanates and a revolution follows. This theory as every other theory of Marx is an object of severe criticism by bourgeois economists. They point out that wages have increased instead of falling down as predicted by Marx. It is true that wages have increased, says a Marxist but he puts forth two irrefutable arguments in support of his theory. Firstly, that wages are not comparatively equally rising with the profits of the capitalist class. For instance as pointed out by Metal worker's union in Germany wages during 1905 and 1909 in

ten of the largest enterprises employing an average of 60,000, to 70,000 workers wages rose only 3·69 per cent. while the profits increased by 14·73 per cent. Moreover the cost of living is rising everyday tremendously. The figures in America will be more striking but it is not proposed to give them here for lack of space. Secondly if at all the wages rise, it is entirely due to the struggles of workers themselves. According to this theory as the capital goes on concentrating in few hands many middle class people will become proletariat. The following figures will clearly elucidate the matter.

	worker voters for German Reichtag elections.
1882	25%
1895	52·6%
1907	54·1%
1910	56·2%

Now about the means to attain the object ie socialism. Marx advocated in general to attain the object, through the means of a revolution. However he made an exception in the case of England. In his speech at Amsterdam in 1872 he said, "Of course I must not be supposed to imply that the means to this end will be everywhere the same. We know that special regard must he paid to the institutions, customs and traditions of various lands; and we do not deny that there are certain countries such as U. S. A. and England in which the workers may hope to secure their ends by peaceful means." But we should remember when Marx gave utterance to the above quoted words monopoly stage of capitalism was only in its infant stage. Lenin afterwards pointed out the futility of the peaceful means in realising workers ends in twentieth-century when imperialism is struggling for its existence armed with most deadliest weapons that modern science has bestowed and he supports Marx's conclusions in 1872, in the following words.

"This was natural in 1871 when England was still the model of a purely capitalist country without a military machine and in large measure without a bureaucracy. Hence Marx excluded England where a revolution, even a people's revolution seemed, and was then possible without the preliminary condition of the destruction of "the existing machinery of state" (Paris Commune). Again he said in plain and blunt words "To-day, both in England and America the 'preliminary condition of any people's revolution'; is the break up and shattering of the 'existing machinery of the state'."

During the last days of Marx a new phase of socialism, Fabian socialism was developing in England. Prior to its formation, Hyndman started a 'social democratic federation' in 1881 with the object of establishing a society based with 'principles of political equality.' J. S. Mill attacked private property by saying "It was not sacred for no man made the land, it is the original inheritance of the whole species." Fabian socialism was started in 1883. It's aim is reorganisation of whole society by communal ownership of all industries and agriculture for the general welfare of the whole people unlike the welfare of the few in competitive system. Some of its great personalities are Bernard Shaw who teaches the use of his theory of 'law of rent to capital,' second Sidney Webb, third Lord Oliver and lastly Clark, M.A. The fabian socialists stand for the state and want with the help of the state to eradicate many evils in the present day system.

In Germany the social democratic party which was a separate line of movement coming from Saint Simon, was started in the revolutionary days of 1848. In sixties many parties arose. In 1863 a workingmen's association was founded by Lassale who lived between 1825 and 1865, to whom falls the credit of organising workers in Germany. In 1867 Bebel was elected

President and in 1871 he declared "war to the palace, peace to the cottage, death to want and idleness will be the battle cry of entire European proletariat. Afterwards the socialist associations were much disturbed by the regime of Bismark. In 1890 the 'Erfeert programme' was adopted by Bebel etc., and it was Marxian in conception.

At this time came Bernstein on the stage with a pamphlet of revisionism in his hand and putting his faith in evolutionary democratic process attacked many Marxian theories. He attacked more Marx's theory of 'Increasing misery' and as I have clearly explained above the theory and its criticisms, I don't propose to go through it again. Soon behind him came Kaul Kautsky a so-called apologist of Marx He declared "without a developed great industry socialism is impossible." Prof. Sidney Hook happily says "Kautsky and Bernstein were Siamese twins of Marxian revisionism who differed only concerning the manner in which the practice of reformism could find adequate theoritical expression."

Let us now travel to France where it will pesently contribute to syndicalism. In sixties many co-operative societies were started. In 1864, mainly due to the efforts of Marx the first international conference of workers met in France not with much success and in 1877 second international met with better success. From 1877 an able person Jules Guerde took leadership and organised the movement. After 1877 government took many anti-socialist steps and killed the spirit of violence in socialists. The workers began to turn to syndicalism by forming into syndicates preferring 'Industrial unionism to trade unionism' The syndicates believe in direct action such as Boycott, label, sabotage and mostly strike. They are against the idea of state and they don't believe in parliamentary way of emancipation as Fabianists. They say, "The legislative assemblies of the present state decide upon questions which are entirely foreign to them with which they have no real connection in life and which they do not understand. The state is therefore arbitrary and oppressive in its nature." The fundamental weak point of syndicalism is they don't have any organised plan after the overthrow of the existing machinery in the state and here the communist ideology gains ground over the former.

In eightees of last century socialist parties were started in many countries of the continent: in Denmark 1878, in Sweeden 1889, in Norway 1887, in Belgium 1885, in Switzerland 1838 but declared in favour of Socialism only in 1878, in Poland 1878 and in Tokio 1899.

In twentieth-century England conceived of a new kind of Socialism guild socialism. The influence of John Ruskin, Thomas Carlyle, William Morris and the writings of G. K. Chesterton and Hilore Bellock largely contributed to the origin of guild socialism and no less an important factor was the influence of French syndicalism. The four great personalities of guild socialism are (1) A. J. Tenty (2) A. R. Orange (3) S. G. Holson and (4) G. D. H. Cole. Why guild socialism has largely been favoured by some great intellectuals is because it favours the self Government of worker in industry which attaches some political and social importance which has been denied to them before. Guild socialism urges for the break down of wage system and preaches wages should be paid even in illness and unemployment. In guild socialism state will exist and according to Hobbes it is a 'citizen state' functioning only civil affairs and Mr. Cole is somewhat inclined against any state.

Lastly comes the Bolshevism in Red Russia. Bolshevism is nothing but Marxism in its practical application in Russia. The leader of Bolshevist

18292

party which most successfully led the revolution in Russia during the days of Great War to the altar of socialism, the first of its kind in human world and which under the dictatorship of the proletariat is gloriously leading, encountering energetically entanglements engendered around it by the vicious circle of world capitalism, to the basis of communism, was Lenin whose intelligence and industry in the days of revolution command respect and reverence from every heart today. Lininism is nothing but the extension of Marxism in the imperialist epoch of capitalism. His contributions to tactical side of Marxism are immense. His books 'What is to be done?' 'Left wing communism,' 'Paris commune,' and 'Will the Bolsheviks maintain power?' are masterpieces on the subject.

During the days of war (1914-18) second international turned reactionary by supporting their respective governments in their imperialist aims and plans. Lenin wanted that Second International should turn the Great War into civil wars in their countries and utilise the civil wars in establishing proletarian dictatorship. But it was voted down, Then Lenin seceded from Second International and started Third International with its headquarters at Moscow. To this now belongs the official party in Power in Red Russia and this is guided by true Marxian principles.

LAKSHMI FORGING AHEAD

Completes in its Eleventh Year a business of
ONE CRORE & TWENTY LAKHS

Invested Funds Exceed Rs. **66,00,000**
Efficient Administration
Economic Management
Enormous Profit

Lakshmi's Share Value quoted over 1600 p.c.

For Agency and Prospects please apply to:—
The Branch Manager,
THE LAKSHMI INSURANCE CO., LTD.,
334, Thambu Chetty Street, G.T., Madras.

THE INDIAN PEASANT.
CONGRESS Vs. GOVT.

By

Prof. N. G. Ranga M.L.A.

It will be interesting to try to compare and contrast the action and reaction of the two great fighters in the great fight for Swaraj, the Congress and Government, in their relations with the Indian peasant, who in his millions, is today looming large on the Indian Political horizon.

One wonders why it was that the Indian National Congress had not realised very much earlier than in 1920 that a struggle, on a national and phenomenal scale, involving enormous sacrifices of life, was the only means for the attainment of Swaraj. Any how the fact is there that until Mahatma Gandhi threw in the whole weight of his personality and advocacy, the fundamental idea of Lokmanya Tilak that Swaraj would never be granted but had to be won by our own conscious and determined efforts was abhorrent to the Liberals who were practically in control of the Congress Machinery. No wonder that Congress did not have to search for active and wholehearted allies in its struggle for wresting freedom from the British. The British Government was trusted to grant in God's own good time to confer upon India the much coveted Dominion Status. Therefore the Congress leaders concerned themselves with the extremely comfortable and stimulating attempt to make India industrially great and administratively Indian and culturally westernised.

The father of Indian economics was one of the fathers of the Congress itself, the late Romesh Chandar Dutt and he took his lessons from the German economist Frederich List. He grew, like his master, contemptuous of the fact that India was predominantly agricultural in her national economy and became a zealous advocate of rapid industrialisation of the country so that it may come to rank high in the order of industrial nations which were considered to be the acme of civilisation. Justice Ranade, Prof. Kale and Gopala Krishna Gokhale were all of the same opinion and they all advocated passionately and persistently in the forum of scholars and on the floor of politicians, the policy of turning the face of India away from rural civilisation in order to welcome the inspiring and enriching industrial civilisation.

It must however be admitted that Congress claimed to speak in the name of the peasants and to concern itself with their welfare. But the limit to its direct concern with their needs was set by its demand for the establishment of permanent settlement and for the lowering of the tax-burden. It was Dutt who started the clamour for the extension of permanent settlement and one of the most important reasons advanced by him in its support was that it would, if established, create and strengthen the most essential, stabilising and civilising elements *i.e.* Zamindars in the countryside; an institution which according to him had helped many a western Nation to advance industrially and culturally. It is feared that prejudice of Dutt in favour of the institution of Talukdars still persists in many quarters within the Congress of to-day. Thank God that much desired Permanent Settlement was not extended and Congress had not thought of the fate of the tenants-millions they numbered even then - in

the areas where Permanent Settlement was established. Dutt's letter to Lord Curzon laid stress upon the necessity for the cessation of inequitous and periodical resettlements which were absorbing more than half the gross produce from land. Lord Curzon's G.O., on Land Revenue Policy stated that Permanent Settlement could not be extended to any fresh areas but that the enhancements of land revenue at resettlements would never be so great as to make the total assessment more than half the net income from land. The direct result of the Congress fight for a lower land revenue burden was that it made Government evolve some sort of a system of settlement and gave an empty assurance to the peasants that never would more than half of their net income from land be snatched away by Government towards Land revenue. The Congress agitation against Salt-Tax had not borne any fruit but had created a healthy and useful prejudice in the minds of the masses against all taxes, direct or indirect that encroach upon the slender means of the poor. When so superficial was the interest displayed by Congress, the premier National Institution for the welfare of the peasants who indeed formed then, as even at present, the bulk of the masses, what wonder is there if the whole officialdom pitched its belief in the trite saying of Lord Curzon that the Indian peasant was the most unpolitical person going. Until 1920 the whole official world believed, with Lord Curzon that all that the peasant demanded was a low rate of land assessment, tolerable burden of other taxes and freedom from too frequent interference with his daily life by officials.

It was indeed too true that Government was quite confident that no considerable trouble would ever arise from the side of the peasants so long as they were kept in good humour regarding their lands and taxes. It was in pursuance of this policy that the Maharatta peasants were quietened by the Deccan Agriculturists Act, the Punjab, N.W.F., Bengal and U.P. peasants were lulled to political unconsciousness by the various Tenancy Laws. Either in securing these laws or in awakening the peasants to a consciousness of their many legitimate needs, Congress had played no conspicuous part. Neither the economists nor the politicians who attached themselves to Congress tried to supply the peasants or Congress with any well thought out policy towards the rural classes. To Mahatma Gandhi goes the credit of crying a 'halt' to the ruinous economic prejudice in favour of industrialisation of India created so sedulously, laboriously and zealously by the Bombay School of economists. His advocacy of 'Back to the Village' policy with its two aspects, the charka and the uplift of the Harijan had for the first time opened the eyes of the nation to the fact that the industrialisation of India would not be an unmixed blessing and that after all, the destruction of small scale cottage industries and the undermining of agricultural economy would only be suicidal to India's best interests.

But this reaction, though it rapidly gained in strength could not arrest the on-rush of the Dutt-Ranade Policy of industrialisation. The Government of India had to shoulder their responsibility towards the industrial development of the country, thanks to the recommendations of the Industrial Commission and Tariff commission and the pressure of the nationalists all over India. Congress had never thought of opposing the policy of protecting Indian industries and was in fact extremely anxious to do everything possible to further their development. The Swaraj Party, led by Motilal Nehru was as anxious as the Liberals to espouse a wholesale protectionist policy. So the Gandhian reaction could not arrest the triumph of the industrialists, who began to bask in the sunshine of nationa-

list industrial policy. That the prosperity and progress of industrialists meant the progressive poverty and fall of the peasants and their dependents, if not permanently, but at least temporarily, was not realised by the Congress Politicians. The income-tax collections (a little more than 16 crores) are not even half as much as the customs revenues, derived from the peasants and workers alone and all this tax-burden on the masses was piled up not only by the Liberals of the Bombay school of economics and Government but also by Congress and its supporters. It is surprising how even today the great majority of Congressmen are ignorant of the fact that the benefits derived by peasants through Congress policy regarding public finance are more than counter-balanced by the burdens inflicted upon them by the indiscriminate protectionist policy. The only voice raised in the name of the agriculturists and consumers was that of Lancashire and it is feared, that it had also contributed much to the development of blindfolded affection of the Congress for the protectionist policy, so sedulously and assiduously popularised and propagated by the capitalists and industrialists.

Mahatma Gandhi's clarion call of 'halt' to the rapid growth of industrial cum capitalistic control of India has turned the attention of the Congress towards the countryside and its agriculture and cottage Industries. The Khaddar campaign and anti-untouchability movement tended, though not too successfully, to bring the village-economy and the peasant, its chief factor again into some sort of prominence. Mahatmaji's earnest endeavour to start Satyagraha in Bardoli, the precipitated Pedandipad no-tax campaign, the Kerala forest Satyagraha Campaign, the Bardoli Resettlement Satyagraha, the threatened Kistna Resettlement Satyagraha, the Successful Venkatagiri Zamin Ryot Satyagraha all have resulted in bringing to the forefront of Indian politics the revolutionary potentialities of the peasant's class.

This dangerous development in the countryside has opened the eyes of Government. During the decade 1920-30, the British policy was directed not so much to the winning over to their side the peasants-for it was soon realised to be an impossible task so long as Mahatma Gandhi remained in control of the Congress—but at least to bolster up new allies which might be conveniently utilised as a buffer, if need be, against the peasants themselves. This decade saw the rising of the Harijans as a political force. It has also witnessed the dreadful communal warfare which bids fair to prevent the development of national or class or functional consciousness. Neither no-tax campaign nor forest Satyagraha can be a success as long as peasants are demoralised and divided up into their communal elements and Harijans can be made to thwart their endeavours.

To serve the peasants was the object of Mahatma Gandhi and to save them from the Congress was the aim of Government. To train them to fight for Swaraj was the ambition of the Mahatma and to demoralise them so well as to be a danger unto themselves was the policy of the Ministers. But neither the Congress nor Government have tried to seriously win them over to their side to be an active political ally. Hence the continued conscious or unconscious support of the Congress to the industrialists whose interests in this transitional stage are contrary to those of the peasants and the solicitude of Government to the clamour of capitalists for costly concessions, even at the cost of the peasants and workers.

THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY YOUTH CONFERENCE

Miss Maniben Kara's stirring Speech.

Miss Mani Ben Kara, in the course of her presidential address, said:

Let us be clear, friends, that the origin of all our ills, social, economic, or political is in the politico-economic order of society under which we have to live. If the spectre of unemployment is haunting the youths to-day, it is the political subjection of our country that is responsible for it. If we have not yet succeeded in overthrowing the old feudal social customs and rules, the reason is that the political power is not in our hands. I do not, in the least. underrate social, literary and cultural movements amongst the youths, but to my mind they are all subsidiary to the political movement. National independence is the immediate goal of our political movement. Under the pressure of the youths, the Indian National Congress, the central organ of our national struggle, was compelled to accept it as its goal at Lahore in 1929. But neither the youths nor the Congress leaders have yet outlined in clear terms the meaning of that independence or the programme, which will lead to its attainment. As a result independence was watered down from substance of independence to dominion status. Gandhiji's 11 points. 4 points etc. As regards the programme we found ourselves tied down to the ineffective and reactionary Gandhian programme and always moving about in a vicious circle. To get out of this vicious circle and to make a repetition of these betrayals impossible, it is absolutely necessary for us to define in as clear terms as possible the concept of independence and formulate a programme of immediate action.

"Right Wing Tendencies in Congress"

The need is the greater at the present moment, when we find a number of right-wing tendencies gaining the upperhand in the Congress movement. The policy of direct action has been repudiated and the Congress is being led by its reactionary leaders step by step towards an understanding with the British Government. What shall we do at this fateful moment? Shall we allow our Congress, the Congress for which we fought, suffered and sacrificed to be converted into an instrument of imperialism? We will not. We will preserve the Congress for ourselves, as the organ of our national struggle for independence. We are sure to succeed if we act in time and in a determined manner. Young men and women of Madras, a heavy responsibility falls on your shoulders, as the rightist tendencies are more discernible in your province than in any other. Friends, remember the days of the Lahore Congress, when we compelled the Congress leaders to accept the goal of national independence. Let us act in the selfsame way and with the powerful support of the working class movement save the Congress from this disaster and rescue it from the hands of its reactionary leaders.

To convert the Congress from a

loose mass organisation into a fighting organ of the masses same radical alterations will have to be effected in the organisation and structure of the Congress. I am placing before you, and through you before all Congressmen some suggestions on both these points. I appeal to you to give them your earnest consideration and to exert yourselves to get those suggestions accepted by the Congress.

Suggested "Declaration of Principles."

In order that there should be no ambiguity about the Congress goal efforts should be made to get the following declaration of principles adopted by the Congress:—

(1) The Congress, as a movement represents the will of the Indian people in democratic national freedom. As an organisation, it is the instrument created by the oppressed masses, for the enforcement of this will to freedom.

(2) The Congress stands by the democratic principle of self-determination. Its object is establishment in India of a government of the people, by the people.

(3) By a democratic government, the Congress understands a Government under effective control of the majority of the people, so that freedom, progress and prosperity are guaranteed equally to the entire community.

(4) The Congress is of opinion that rapid industrialisation is the only remedy for the poverty of the Indian masses, as well as for other economic evils.

(5) On the strength of historical experience and proved economic theories, the Congress holds the opinion that antiquated forms of non-productive (feudal, semi-feudal, patriarchal, sacerdotal, etc.) ownership of land are obstacles to the normal economic development of the country. There should be a transfer of ownership of means of production from rent-receivers to those directly concerned with the actual process of production.

(6) The Congress is in agreement with the generally established economic theory that industrial expansion and commercial activity of a country are limited by the power of consumption of its people. Therefore, the Congress believes that it is the fundamental duty of a democratic Government to take measures calculated to increase the purchasing power of the masses. The following are some of the measures urgently required in India :—

(a) Transfer of the ownership of land to the peasant; (b) the relieving of the burden on the peasantry to such an extent as would leave them in possession of no less than 80 per cent of the gross produce; (c) Legally guaranteed minimum wages to assure an irreducible standard of living (representing a corresponding purchasing power) to those working in the fields, factories, mines, transport services, offices, schools, etc., (d) Extensive public works, and industrial undertakings by the State for the productive employment of the huge mass of wasted labour.

(7) The Congress believes that it is the duty of a democratic Government to foster industrial and commercial prosperity. But as a democratic movement, the Congress is opposed to the exploitation of man by man, nor would it permit the accumulation of national wealth in the possession of a few accentuating the misery of the majority. Therefore it stands for industrial democracy and equitable distribution of national wealth to be guaranteed through:—

(a) Public (national, municipal or local) ownership of the modern means of transportation; (b) Governmental supervision of mining and other heavy industries in return for financial aid such as credit facilities, subsidy, etc., (c) State control over banking and credit; (d) Social insurance.

(8) The Congress considers freedom

of press, speech and association as an elementary right of democratic citizenship. It declares its determination to fight relentlessly for this elementary right.

(9) The Congress believes that it is the duty of a democratic Government to provide free secular education to all children below 15 years of age.

(10) The Congress stands for equal political, economic and social rights for women.

(11) The Congress deplores communal mistrust and misunderstanding.

Group Membership

In view of the fact that the struggle for national freedom has entered a new stage in which different methods and forms of combat will have to be adopted, the constitution and the organisational structure of the Congress will have to be altered to make it an effective fighting organ of the masses. Steps will have to be taken to secure an effective control of the leadership by the rank and file, election of delegates in open mass meetings, discussion of draft resolutions in preliminary conferences and such other measures. To guarantee an organised mass basis for the Congress, the system of collective or group membership will have to be introduced. All organisations, groups and clubs formed with democratic and progressive purposes such as trade unions, workers, clubs, peasant organisations, student bodies, socialist or communist associations, co-operative societies, small tradesmen, and artisans' guilds, literary and cultural bodies, etc., should be entitled to affiliation with the Congress on the acceptance of its principles. This will make the Congress the real representative organ of the Indian masses.

If we succeeded in getting these suggestions accepted by the Congress we shall have effected a radical transformation in the Congress. The struggle for power within the Congress between the reactionary leadership and the anti-imperialist rank and file will be waged in the Lucknow session. We have five months before us. Let us utilise these five months for a country-wide agitation and a mass movement for the democratisation and the radicalisation of the Congress and meet the reactionary leaders at Lucknow not as a loose amorphous mass, but as an organised body which knows its own mind and is determined to win.

The Reforms

The question of the Reforms need not detain us long. There will be none in this conference who would urge their acceptance and working. To us the masses, nothing has been given and nothing can be accepted. We stand for national independence and the only point that we have to consider is the application of correct strategy and tactics for the development of our movement under the new conditions created by the Reforms. The legislatures under the Reforms and the elections to those bodies will afford us valuable opportunity for our propaganda, agitation and organisation. We must avail ourselves of those opportunities and contest elections on the basis of a platform embodying the immediate economic demands of the overwhelming majority of the electorate. We shall go to the legislatures not for working the Reforms or for bringing about futile constitutional deadlocks but with the only object of utilising them as platforms for agitation, propaganda and organisation. The acceptance of offices is out of question for all anti-imperialists really speaking. But we cannot forget that there is a strong tendency in the leading Congress circles favouring the policy of accepting offices. We must therefore express ourselves unequivocally and make it impossible for the office hunters to seek jobs in the name of the Congress.

Youths no doubt have their own peculiar problems. But it is privilege and the duty of the youths to consider the problem facing the entire society

THE RESULTS OF THE SECOND VALUATION

OF THE

INDIAN MUTUAL

LIFE ASSOCIATION, LIMITED,

TRIPLICANE, MADRAS.

Have disclosed a surplus of Rs. 53,963 and the Consulting Actuary recommends 20 per cent more profits now than in the first valuation after providing substantial Reserves for our contracts on a very stringent basis.

The Actuary writes: "I have seen your Association developing from a good office to a better one. As a Policy-holder myself, I hope to see it developing ere long into the best one."

C. M. SRINIVASAN, B.A.. B.L.,

General Secretary.

While Travelling With Family,

Depend more upon home-made preparations than upon those of the vendors. Home-made Savouries, when they contain our

V-H-R
THE QUALITY ASAFOETIDA

are greatly improved in **flavour** and **taste**. They are preserved longer and are easily and delightfully **digestible.**

Obtainable everywhere and also at:—

VARJIWANDAS HIRJEE & Co.,

194, GOVINDAPPA NAICKEN STREET, MADRAS.

Telephone:	Telegrams:	H. O.	Branches:
3478.	SANTHOSHI.	BOMBAY.	KUMBAKONAM, MADURA

as well and to give a lead on all those problems. Elderly men may not have the energy and courage for facing all the problems of life squarely. They would like to run away from them or to arrive at some compromise. But youths overflowing with enthusiasm and zeal will face every problem squarely and will not rest content until it has been solved satisfactorily. Youths want to live and live like cultured human beings in a freer, a juster and a happier world and will consider no sacrifice heavy to attain that end. In India the youths want freedom and prosperity. Older men may shrink from the endeavour because of the immensity of the task. But the youths will not rest content until they see India free and prosperous.

IS NOT NATIONALISM DANGEROUS?

CONFUSED IDEOLOGY OF CONGRESS SOCIALISTS

By **K. Damodaran,** *Kasi Vidyapeeth*

Whatever its historic revolutionary role, Nationalism today is through and through a sentiment of the bourgeoisie definitely used as a weapon of exploitation of the starving millions. It is a spell at once to mesmerise the exploited class and provoke war. The first hideous World War was a direct result of it. Millions of innocent human beings were treacherously sacrificed at the altar of the goddess Nationalism and yet her thirst of blood was not satiated. Today, we see, that almost every nation seethes with fear and unrest because of its aggressive Nationalism which is nothing but the same Imperialism in its Fascist garb. We must clearly understand that 'Nationalism' is something different from 'National Interests'. While to-day the Indian bourgeoisie cannot look to the national interests it can most easily afford to be nationalist. The National interests are the interests of the broad masses, to which the Indian bourgeoisie stands definitely opposed. And Nationalism is a deceptive weapon in its own hand. Can then the workers knowingly afford to fall a prey to this net—knowing that the Indian Capitalist class is nothing but a junior partner in British exploitation in India? No, Nationalism neither objectively nor subjectively can be a slogan of the working class. It cannot deceive itself to believe that under the present conditions, there can be a common slogan between the bourgeoisie and the working class and the peasantry. And the very fact that the bourgeoisie takes pride in Nationalism, the working class refuses a claim to this dangerous demagogy. We are no nationalists, no patriots, but men and women determined for the establishment of a classless society wherein our pleasures and prides will not necessarily be the pleasures and prides of the bourgeoisie deemed as it is to have passed away by that time. To put it in short, our interests are national as well as international; but our ideology is international.

I am surprised to read Mr. M. R. Masani's article on Nationalism which

appeared in one of the back issues of the '*New Age*' (March 1935). Mr. Masani is the joint secretary of the Congress Socialist Party and so we have every reason to believe that he speaks for the Congress Socialists of India. He does his level best to prove that Congress Socialists are better Nationalists than ordinary congressmen. He says that today in India a man is a better nationalist for being a socialist. This vague and incorrect statement which intends to put the whole theory of Scientific Socialism into jeopardy, is undoubtedly a challenge to common sense and experience. But what surprised me most was the opinion of the Congress Socialist leader that Nationalism, instead of being a reactionary force as it is today in the West, is a progressive force in India. This seems to me more mystical than Mahatma Gandhi's opinion that the same council entry that is poison for him is sweet milk for his innumerable followers! But in essence, it is an argument of the Menshevik School who believe in the theory of stages. Mr. Masani should understand that there are also "jumps" in History.

In his eagerness to prove his statement, the learned comrade says that our Nationalist movement—he means the movement of the Congress—is the strongest anti-imperialist force in India. But one who has eyes to see and brains to think can clearly understand that our Congress from its very inception has been a bourgeois movement. It is fighting only to bargain more concessions, greater advantages and a larger share of the booty for the wealthier class of this unfortunate country. To the shame of our movement be it said that it not only refused to fight for the masses, but pitiably betrayed them when they actually joined its struggle for Independence. In its stress on some petty concessions it did not hesitate to give up all its ideology—once, twice, thrice and more times. So the working class in India wants not only to put an end to the feudal conditions but also wants to see that their own rule is established. This needs a Socialist training of the masses and not the attempt to preserve them as they are with hackneyed and treacherous ideology. Complete Independence is the living problem of the hour, but nationalism is an injurious slogan, because it confuses the genuine anti-imperialist forces with the forces that are reactionary.

The real fight for Independence can only be fought by the working class and peasantry and other exploited masses which are the greatest revolutionary elements in the country. They are exploited both by the Indian bourgeoisie and the British Imperialism. They are literally starving while some of their own countrymen are enjoying more amenities of life.

Let us try to break down the artificial barriers of narrow Nationalism and tell the masses that the rich man's chauvenism which masquerades as nationalism and Love of Country is only a hackneyed policy which can no more hold any water.

UNITED FRONT—BOGUS AND GENUINE

By

E. M. Sankaran Namboodripad

Vulgarise radical ideas and sabotage revolutionary movements after you have resisted both to your utmost capacity—this seems to be the motto of the right-wing reactionary leadership of the Indian National Congress. At Madras the goal of complete independence was pooh-poohed as childish but when the mass consciousness became irresistible, it was suddenly taken up as a noble idea and then watered down into substance of Independence, Eleven points, Four points etc. The leadership, has never been enthusiastic about Constituent Assembly but even that was taken up and vulgarised as a glorified All Parties Conference. The "deep concern for labour" was ridiculously converted into the nonsensical formula of manual Labour franchise. And now it is the turn for the United Front to be thus vulgarised.

United Front has of late acquired an international position as the slogan of the masses. In the face of the growing menace of war and Fascism, all progressive elements in several countries—including the socialists and communists—have found it appropriate to sink their minor difference and show a United Front against reactionary forces. Progressive organisations in all parts of the world leave no stone unturned to see that in resisting war and fighting Fascism, no hindrance exists. In India too, progressive elements have deemed it proper and necessary to raise the slogan of United Front against exploitation.

But how ridiculous the idea of United Front as it is propounded by the right wing leaders! A responsible member of the Indian National Congress Working Committee threw out a suggestion in all seriousness that to show a United Front against the menace of the coming constitution congressmen should go a few paces backward so as to make the Liberals march forward. The eminent leader of the Congress Assembly party is said to have held consultations with Dr. Subbaroyan, the leader of a party which never supported the congress in its struggle against Imperialism, so that these respective parties may show a United Front. Not to recount other instances which can be found in legion in the utterances of Congress and liberal leaders, the history of the Congress party's achievements in Assembly is a standing monument of how this much talked of United Front will work in practice.

Now what are the essentials of a United Front? One can definitely say that it is a Union of elements which do not agree on all points but agree to work for the attainment of a specific objective, at the same time keeping their separate existance intact. It is very clear, therefore, that the essential pre-requisite of a United Front should be the clear eunciation of the objective for which the Union is sought to be made. Though such a classification has not been made, it can be inferred from the utterances of responsible leaders that it is for fighting the coming constitution that a United Front is advocated. If that is so, the way in which it is sought to be brought about is subject to serious criticism. Congress has committed itself to the rejection of the coming constitution. It is therefore its duty if it means that rejection seriously to bring about a

United Front of all those who agree on the formula of rejection. Nobody can dispute the fact that there are other non-Congress forces which are prepared to join in an agreed programme of enforcing the formula of rejection. But the leaders of the Congress have done nothing to rally those forces in an active fight against Imperialism. Their idea of United Front with the Liberals gives one the impression that what they seek is not a United front of all the anti-Imperialist forces in the country but an electoral and parliamentary union of all those constitutional elements which agree that the India Act is not good for the country. In other words it is not a United Front of the masses coming from below but one of the leaders from above.

The story of how the labour sub-committee of the Congress failed to meet the Joint Labour Board at Madras is an instance of how Labour and other radical elements in the country will be treated by the nationalist leaders. Even in spite of the laboured apology of the General Secretary and the President, the fact remains that Acharaya Kripalani was not half as anxious to meet the Labour Board as Mr. Bhulabhai Desai to meet Dr. Subbroyan. It is also to be remembered that, while the open rebellion of the Congress Nationalists is explained away as "an unfortunate occurrence," the constitutional opposition of the Congress socialists is talked of as disloyalty and lack of discipline. If the Congress leaders were as enthusiastic about rallying Socialists, Trade Unionists and Independence—wallahs as they are about joining the Liberals, and if Sirdar Patel were as serious of fighting British Imperialism and its Indian lackeys as he is of fighting the socialists, a genuine United Front of all the fighters for complete Independence would have been possible.

But Congress leaders seem to be in no mood for this. Their role is in the memorable words of a member of the Working Committee to "filter" the proposals of the rank and file and present them to the nation as the collective wisdom of the only fighting political organisation of the country. Hence the necessity of the radicals in the Congress to resist the bogus United Front proposed by the leaders and bring about a genuine one. Acceptance of complete Independence as the goal and Direct Action as the means and determination to fight all those who are opposed to these should form the basis of such a United Front.

SOME RECENT IMPRESSIONS ABOUT THE U. S. S. R.

Tourists to the U.S.S.R. in the recent months are almost lost in admiration at the various phases of the gigantic socialistic construction going on most vigorously on a sixth of the world's surface.

Here are a few extracts from the impressions of distinguished and representative visitors to that great country in the course of the last three or four months.

* * *

"I came home humiliated from a country where a united drive towards a single objective has given security and comfort to all, to a country where capitalist interests keep the toiling and unemployed masses almost completely

impotent" (Mr. Robert N. Tweedy, an Irish Engineer).

* * *

"In the Soviet Union, where the social importance of science is especially appreciated, the funds made available for the development and prosecution of scientific studies is greater than in any other country of the world"

(Prof. W.B. Cannon of the Harvard Medical School, Boston.)

* * *

"The most outstanding thing about the Soviet Union is the high premium placed on science and scientific workers .... The facilities for advancement and the encouragement of progress will certainly bring forth further results which will surprise the whole world."

(Dr. F. G. Banting, co-discoverer of insulin, Nobel Prize winner, of the University of Toronto, Canada)

* * *

"I am extremely interested in learning more about the planning of science here. The tremendous scale on which science is conducted in the U. S. S. R is more than gratifying."

(Prof. F. D. Adrian of Cambridge.)

* * *

"One cannot be called a physiology student if he does not know what physiologists have done in Russia."

(Prof. R. Row, of Bombay).

* * *

"Russia is thoroughly governed. There is a new system and the new system works. There are no rich, no poor and no unemployed. There are no slums."

(Sir Andrew Mac-Phail, Professor of Mc Gill University, Montreal).

* * *

"The people in the rural areas as well as those in towns, are comfortably attired and adequately wealthy, and the cheerfulness apparent everywhere among the working people is sufficient refutation of the myths sometimes circulated regarding conditions in Russia."

(Mr. I. M. Edelmann, Director of London Plywood and Timber Co., in the *Timber Trades Journal.*)

Only the Soviet Union stands out as the consistent upholder of peace. To its growing strength, and not to the goodwill of capitalists in Britain or elsewhere, must we look for the hope of peace in the future.

(D. Raymond Jenkins)

* * *

"In Soviet Russia, the medical profession does not remain aloof from the public. Without loss of prestige, it has become part of the community of workers. ...

* * *

The doctors ensure hygienic working conditions and do health propaganda. They also supervise the provision of well-balanced meals for all workers, and of special diets for patients with gastric disorders. Immunisation against infectious disease is carried out extensively. ....

The vast network of medical organisation spreads throughout the State—the remotest districts are supervised and linked to a good medical centre. Even primitive landing-stages on the Volgar have child-welfare creches and special rooms for mothers."

(Margaret S. M. Reid, M.D.D. P.H., an English Woman Doctor.)

PRESIDENT MASARYK'S EIGHTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY

Son of a Hapsburg Coach-Driver, Scholar of World Fame Became a Rebel, and now Upholds Parliamentary Democracy in the Post-War Republic Which He Founded.

By **Emil Lengyel.**

March 7 is the eighty-fifth birthday of Thomas Carrigue Masaryk, founder of the Gzechoslovak Republic, its President, and, according to many, the greatest living European. When Emil Ludwig, the biographer, scanned the horizon for a man best qualified to fill the position of the President of a future United States of Europe, he selected President Masaryk.

On his eighty-fifth birthday, the President of Czechoslovakia can look back upon a life that would put to shame any fiction-writer. The son of a coach-driver of the Imperial House of Hapsburg and of a cook, he was to become a manual worker. Instead of that, he became the strongest force that overthrew the Hapsburgs.

He became a revolutionary outlaw at the age of sixty-five, after having been a scholar of international fame, and he was approaching four-score and ten when his country received him with the laurels of the victor.

Masaryk has broken all records by having been elected President four times in succession. He has been instrumental in making Czechoslovakia the most successful State in the Danube Valley, and the only parliamentary State in all Central Europe. What kind of a man is President Masaryk on his eightyfifth birthday?

President Masaryk spends five days of the week in the Chateau of Lany, about an hour's ride from the Czechoslovak Capital, Prague. Nearly every day he spends an hour in the saddle.

His place is the Mount Vernon of Czechoslovakia, considered a national shrine, where the President attends to the affairs of the State, and, in his spare time, works on a new edition of his book on concrete logic, first published nearly fifty years ago.

Ghosts of the Past

The President spends an average of two days in a week in his official residence, the former Royal Palace of Hradcany. From all over the Capital one can see the Preisdential banner of white-red-blue on the tallest tower of the Palace. As one mounts the hill, on which the Palace stands, one reads the motto on the banner: "Verity Wins."

The corner-stone of the Hradcany was laid in the thirteenth century, and it is full of ghosts of the past. Here history is in the very air, and the visitor remembers with a shiver that it was on this very spot that probably the most devastating of all religious conflicts, the Thirty Years War, started more than three centuries ago.

The car passes through ancient fortifications, which seem to look marve-

IMPORTANT !

When a family Provider insures his life he makes a transaction of the utmost importance to him and his dependents.

It involves two of the finest of all human emotions—AFFECTION and the spirit of SACRIFICE.

The Salesman who recognises this truth and acts accordingly by offering the utmost in sound advice and personal service finds an interested prospect.

THE ASIAN ASSURANCE COMPANY, LIMITED, BOMBAY.

MADRAS OFFICE:

117, ARMENIAN STREET, MADRAS.

OTHER PRESIDENCY OFFICES:

GUNTUR, ERNAKULAM, MANGALORE & VIZIANAGARAM.

ORGANISING OFFICES:—**MADURA & MADANAPALLE.**

FOR GOOD PRINTING

IN

BOOKS—JOBS—OTHER MISCELLANIES

THE JUPITER PRESS.

ARE THE PEOPLE.

JUPITER DOES IN PLANET-LIKE-WAY
GOOD PRINTING AT MODERATE CHARGES

16. SEMBUDOSS St., G. T., MADRAS.

ASK FOR

OUR FAMOUS TILAK

ASAFOETIDA

SOLD EVERYWHERE.

lingly at the beauties of "Zlata Praha," Golden Prague, as they unfold themselves on both sides of the River Vltava.

One passes a vast gate, made for protection in days long past, at which Czech soldiers stand guard.

Talking in Whispers

Taken in hand by a courteous aide-de-camp, one is shown into a lift, the center of which is occupied by a throne-like chair. Here every one talks in whispers, as if fearful to disturb the memories of the past.

While waiting for the audience, the visitor looks at the paintings of Correggio and Palma Vecchio on the walls.

In a few more minutes he walks endless corridors, landing finally in the antechamber of the President, which contains the overflow of his library. The door opens and he is in the study of the President, which one would be inclined to describe as a scholar's lair.

Here books are heaped high on several tables, keeping company to sheets of pink and yellow paper. On the former the President makes notes of his research and one the latter he marks his own thoughts.

The President stands up and rubs his eyes for a second, as men sometimes do who have been reading long. Looking at him at a close range, his skin appears dry, almost brittle, criss-crossed by tiny wrinkles. If the visitor speaks no Czech, he may select the language of conversation.

President Masaryk, who married an American lady and spent several years in the United States, speaks flawless English. His French is as good as that of a Sorbonne professor, his German has no accent, and he speaks Russian with ease.

His voice is hollow, except when he touches upon subjects closest to his heart, when it becomes metallic, although muffled

When he speaks, one hears not only the statesman but also the former professor. Where other men of politics see only the present, he also assays the past and visualizes the future. He is proud of his work, the Republic of Czechoslovakia, but he never overlooks its weakness.

"Monarchism and Caesarism have left something of aristocracy and absolutism in many of us." He likes to repeat the first principle of statesmanship, which some of his countrymen are inclined to forget:

"We are a part of the world as a whole." As to the present tendency in Europe he is inclined to optimism, and believes that after the present turmoil Europe and mankind will be tending toward unification.

What is the influence of President Masaryk on Czechoslovakia? As the greatest hero of his country, he is an inspiration. His moderating influence has tempered patriots overzealous to ride roughshod over the nationalities of the republic. Through his younger friend and Foreign Minister, Dr. Eduard Benes, he has taken a hand in every great international problem.

Looking to the Future.

Masaryk occupies a unique position in his country. Altho Czechoslovakia is the only parliamentary democracy east of the Rhine and Masaryk is a constitutional President, he has what amounts to "tyrannical" powers in expressing his views.

Since Masaryk has reached the age where the thought of death can not be banished from the mind, speculation is ripe as to what the future holds in store for the Republic after he passes away.

The President himself would like to see Foreign Minister Benes elevated to Chief Executive. But no matter what happens, Masaryk's spirit will live on in the country which he created.

The Literary Digest.

YOUNG FRANCE, THE REPUBLIC, AND WORLD PEACE

"The Group of the Ninth of July's Minimum Plan" Presses for Practical Action to Achieve Permanent Harmony Among Nations and Eliminate Injustice From the Social Order

By **Edward Price Bell**

Young academic France solid against war, fervidly national yet sanely international, overwhelmingly for the preservation in France of a civilization which is French and which is free.

That would seem to be about the core of the case.

Diversities of sentiment and thought in France are almost numberless. Feeling and conviction and expression are strong from one end to the other of the political, social, and economic diameter.

This is true not only of the academic youth; it is true of all elements of the French population, in the cities and in the country. France is on the verge of great politico-economic changes. Nobody knows from day to day what will happen, and everyone talks of the possibility of "la guerre civile" (civil war).

No One Wants War

But no one wants either civil war or international war, least of all the youth, and especially the educated youth, of France. You stand before a great group of students, typical French students, stout-limbed, bright-eyed, ardent, brilliant, in a Paris classroom—say a classroom of l'Ecole Normale Superieure—and ask:

"Does any one of you believe in war?"

"No!" with a roar that shatters all chance of question.

"You have grave differences?"

"Yes; differences many and grave."

A towering, lanky, dark young man rises in the center of the group, and says:

"We have many conflicting ideas which we hold passionately, but we do not want to *fight* about them; we want to *think* about them, to *study* them, to *understand* one another."

"You feel important governmental developments are imminent?"

The towering young man replies:

"The present truce of parties can not last."

Such are the sentiments and the will of young academic France, so eager, so impetuous even, so rich in bodily and mental vigor, that one wonders whether its impatient energies can not, be confined to peaceful channels within its own borders.

Surely, Jules Romains is not talking idly when he declares: "We may awake tomorrow in civil war." However, determined efforts are on foot for understanding and approximation, lest France awake one morning not only in civil war, but under the threat, as ex-Premier Doumergue affirmed of invasion.

One of the gifted and convinced participants in this labor of appeasement

is M. Armand Hoog, a student in l'Ecole Normale Superieure. He is tall, spare, wiry, and energetic, with black hair and piercing, friendly brown eyes, a young man of Dutch extraction, far back, a thorough Frenchman in appearance and spiritual quality.

War Is Disastrous

He is a prominent member of *Jeune Republique*, an organization which stands about midway between the extremists of French politics, and an organization which is active in the pacificatory movement. M. Hoog belongs to "le groupe du 9 Juillet" ("The Group of the Ninth of July"), composed of nineteen men, representing a great diversity of opinion, who have agreed upon a "Minimum Plan" for the reform of conditions in French political economy.

"You agree," he was asked in a private talk, "with those who hold that war is no solution for anything, is utterly disastrous?"

"Entirely,"

"War has no glamour for French students?"

"None."

"There is nothing in the notion, frequently met, that the iniquities and calamities of war mean little to the rising generation?"

"We are acutely conscious of them all. They are burned into us, not only by what we have read and witnessed in pictures, but by what we have seen of their results, and by our own study and reasoning."

"So you are fighting 'la guerre civile'?"

"With all our strength."

"And war of every kind?"

"Every kind"

"Hopefully?"

"Not despairingly, certainly, tho we sometimes are in doubt and distress over the multitude and the obstinacy of the difficulties, domestic and foreign.

"Do you fear Germany?"

"Germany hangs above us like an avalanche. The ways are made hard and smooth—railways and highways—for the possible descent of that avalanche upon us, as it has descended upon us several times in the past, leaving permanent scars upon our national memory.

Germany's Strength

"Remember, Germany is a very heavy avalanche, and very close to us. Remember, you can lunch in Paris, and, traveling at a moderate speed in an automobile, dine in Germany. Remember, the people of Germany outnumber ours almost two to one. Remember, Germany's warlike potentialities exceed those of France tremendously.

"Naturally, we fear Germany Naturally, preoccupation with the German danger dominates our minds and determines our political policies. Anything like parity of armaments between Germany and France means French insecurity, an intolerable peril to France, unless other great Powers stand by our side. Hence our long-urged plea for a definite organization of peace.

"And, yet, in spite of all that has happened, in spite of the savage invasions, and in spite of the nearness to us of this mighty mass of German strength, young academic France desires to see fear and hatred of Germany disappear from this country. These feelings harm us, They distract us from domestic problems. They are a brake upon our progress.

"We want mutual sympathy and trust between the Germans and ourselves, as we want these sentiments between other nations and ourselves; we are, both in hope and in faith, internationalists. We want our own nationality, the independence and

integrity of our own civilization, and we want other peoples to have theirs.

"Hence, we are disinclined to rush head-long against Hitler, to condemn him out of hand. There has been a revolution in Germany, and revolutions often are marked by tragic and terrible things. Hilter has been at the helm only two hours. We prefer to be forbearing while the world awaits the real historical measure of the man."

"It is a situation of conlusion, of demoralization, throughout the country. It is situation demanding reform. Our whole economy, agricultural—and we are, of course, predominantly agricultural—and industrial, is crying out for clear light, stability, and a plain road of prosperous advance.

"There is no wide-spread loss of confidence in our republican institutions; the loss of confidence is in many of our leaders and in our parliamentary practices.

"We require in our leaders six basic qualities: honesty, wisdom, efficiency, energy, courage, and celerity of action.

"We require in our Parliament non-obstruction for obstruction's sake.

"We want a riddance of its excessive egoism, its frivolity, its penchant for ousting Governments on pretexts of no moment.

"We want a reasonable Parliament, responsive to nothing but a sense of the national welfare.

"All the reforms we need are realizable within the framework of the Republic."

"Minimum Plan."

"Could you give an idea of the 'Minimum Plan' of 'le groupe du 9 Juillet' in a few words?"

"First, it calls for character, rather than intellectual and oratorical finish, in our public life; we are tired of dexterous parliamentarians, Tardieu, Herriot, Blum—clever men, but not great constructive statesmen.

"We like Flandin and Laval much better, and especially Laval (who probably will be Premier at no distant date), and we particularly admire their realism and courage in facing squarely the task of the settlement of Europe on the basis of fairness and good-will to every nation concerned.

"Our plan is comprehensively reformist, addressed to necessary changes in the Government, in Parliament, in the Judiciary, and in the Treasury. It takes into account the position and the interests of all our people, peasants, workers, technicians, the commercial and financial classes, the professions, writers and artists.

"Its compendious purpose is to eliminate sheltered injustice from our political and social order, to introduce impartiality, science, justice into our system of government. Such are what we term its 'points essentiels' as regards the domestic field. With respect to foreign affairs, we press for bold and practical action to achieve the permanent peace of the world."

The New Age will make you A New Man

REVIEW

WHITHER HYDERABAD By Syed Abid Hasan Published by the author available at *Messrs. P. R. Rama Iyer & Co. Madras Price Re. 1.*

One would expect from the very nomenclature of this book, some surprise or other coupled with a sort of prophecy by way of answer to the question, 'Whither Hyderabad?' Neither any surprise nor prophecy awaits us when we actually read the book. The most astounding thing is that the writer while appearing to be very 'modern', makes a subject which is in itself an anachronism, the theme of his book. To present the case for feudalism in these days when the writer himself accepts that, "Socialism is in the air" (p17) and to press his case for acceptance, shows political imbecility and a deathlike senility which reach their climax when he says, "There neither is, nor can there ever be anything intrinsically or inherently wrong with the Institutions of Princedom or Indian states." (p 15).

Again (on p. 24) we read, by way of answer to a question, "Should Jagirdars enter Government Service?" If it is a case of a Jagirdar versus an outsider, I would vote for the Jagirdar." Clause II of the Nizam's Subjects League, on the Role of the classes, in short the aims and objects of this League, with its "Mulki" content and "Deccani Nationalism," is something of fascism with a vengeance!

The feudal aristocracy has outlived its use,—if at any time it had any—in India, and only waits on the brink of its grave waiting to be kicked in.

Nationalism is a dope, strong enough with which the exploited masses of India have been duped by the Indian bourgeoisie, and that Mr. Abid Hasan should start at this belated hour to ring the bell (p. 19) is to say the least a tragic-comedy. For, the masses have been awakened from their long sleep and shaken off the effects of the hemlock of narrow nationalism and provincial patriotism! They see the necessity for the solidarity of the working-class of the world to overthrow Imperialism and capitalism and to stop the exploitation of man by man.

It is now too late even for Mr. Hasan to sound the warning. The whole book is an exposition of the creed of the Nizam's Subjects' League, the ostensible aim of which is to keep intact the 'princely order' and to better the lot of the Sate peoples. What an Utopia? The only way to better the peoples lot is to efface feudalism, a relic of the past, and its ally the 'princely order.' In a Socialist State alone can the masses be happy!

The funniest thing about 'Whither Hyderabad' is that it is banned in Hyderabad. Within living memory this is the boldest book ever written championing the cause of the Asaf Jahi dynasty. The paradox is that the Government of the Nizam has prohibited the circulation of this book in Hyderabad! A piece of irony!!!

The book is printed in big clear type and the get up is excellent. Those who desire to know what the author has to say about this state will have some information supplied in this book.

A. S. K.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

In the name of civilisation

Violence is said to be an indispensable evil for 'civilising' humanity. Signor Mussolini has it that his Abyssinian designs have for their only object, civilisation and humanisation of the 'barbarous' Ethiopians. To accomplish this humanitarian task he calls to aid all the most modern weapons of mass destruction. In short he wants to civilise Abyssinia by annihilating its teeming millions. The Mohmands in India's North-Western Frontier are subjected to a similar process by British Imperialism merely because the Faquir of Alingar does not know that there is a Leaue of Nations which is broadbased enough to admit even his territory and ensure that inviolability of that most unfortunate trans-border highland against the Imperialist attack of *Pax Britanica.*

Our provincial bureaucracies carry this evangelising mission on a mediocre scale. Refusal to take the most atrocious food supplied has led not infrequently to the administration of the whip, resulting directly or indirectly in the death of the unfortunate. Barbarity can go no further. And yet it is done in the name of civilisation.

Robbing the Criminals

The Governor of Madras presiding over a recent annual function of the Madras Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society gave expression to some sentiments. Referring to the dawn in society of a new outlook on crime, he stated that more often the prisoner is sinned against than the sinner.

Poverty, wrong upbringing, unemployment and other social evils, he said, manufacture criminals and it is cruel to think of a convict as a being beyond the pale of human sympathy. He added that a criminal, during his sojourn in the jail and after release, deserved to be treated as a brother to be reformed and reclaimed. About the treatment meted out to criminals in jails, the less said the better.

The Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies have been established in almost all the District Centres. The purpose of these societies is to make the prisoner realise in his release, that society is prepared to help him with a decent re-start in life, so that he could reform himself and not be betrayed into becoming a Convict once more, by the cruel and treacherous treatment meted out to him by society as at present constituted. But a close scrutiny of the financial affairs of these Societies reveals a horrid spectacle. The societies are expected to give financial assistance to released criminals as an initial help to get back to honest ways of living. But it is astounding to find that out of a total sum of Rs. 15250-2-9 spent by these societies last year only Rs. 4800-3-3 has been recieved by the criminals. More than two-thirds of the whole amount must have been defrayed to the Honorary Office-Bearers of these societies and their staff—who, please note are not criminals according to the existing standards—as travelling and other allowances. Thus in the name of helping criminals, these societies have helped some fat bed-brothers of the bureaucracy to get rich at the cost of the unfortunate. Undisguisedly, this is robbing the criminals though it is done in a dignified way. We are not unaccustomed to the glorious praises lavished on those gentlemen who kindly engage themselves

HEMO-DRAKSO-MALT

MAKES LIFE THE MORE ENJOYABLE.

Hemo-Drakso-Malt is the finest of all digestives and tonics. It increases the appetite and brings new life and new vigour to tired and worn-out nerves.

Hemo-Drakso-Malt is a combination of blood-forming Haemoglobin with the juice of the choicest grapes and Malt Extract together with other valuable ingredients noted for their properties, and as it is made to suit the Indian constitution it must do you good and that is why Hemo-Drakso-Malt is fest replacing similar preparations of foreign manufacture.

Buy a bottle to-day
and you will realise what a wonderful
digestive and appetising tonic is
Hemo-Drakso-Malt.

AN

Alembic

PRODUCT

Alembic Chemicals: Bombay, Baroda, Madras.

IT WILL PAY YOU

TO INSURE OR TO REPRESENT

DESHABANDHU'S

Unique Assurance Co., Ltd.

(Founded by DESHABANDHU C. R. DAS)

Head Office : CALCUTTA. **Estd. 1912.**

WHICH PROVIDES

All that is best and latest in Insurance.

For Prospectus and Particulars of Agencies, etc.

Please apply to :—

Mr. A. C. BOSE, MANAGER, MADRAS BRANCH,

Phone No- 4066. **No. 17, Armenian Street, Madras.**

OR

To Company's other Offices at BEZWADA and MADURA.

The Star of India Industrial & General Assurance Co., Ltd.

MADRAS.

1933 A Record of Progress.

Business received	...	Rs.	16,21,000
Business completed	...	,,	11,53,600
Assets nearly	...	,,	2,00,000
Investment in Government securities	...	,,	95,700
Claims paid	...	,,	1,80,000

What the Actuary says :

" Absence of claims arising by death speaks of the efficient and judicious selection of Risks."

" Total expenses of management is considerably less than the allowance provided for by the Government of India in its rules."

GROW WITH THE GROWING COMPANY.

THE STAR OF INDIA ASSURANCE COMPANY, LTD.,
SEMBUDOSS STREET, MADRAS.

in this extremely arduous task, by the custodians of law and order. Some of them are rewarded with titles in appreciation of the 'great work' they do to wean criminals away to honest living. It is certainly no surprise that the recipients of these allowances usually sing the praises of jail life. It might be recalled that the tallest of them took a pleasure trip to the Andamans at his own cost and returned invigorated by its bracing atmosphere to report to the Government and proclaim to the world that if there were a Heaven-on-Earth it was the Andamans. The noble Dewan Bahadur, in addition to the load he is fortunate enough to carry may confidently hope to bear the weighty insignia of knighthood when the New Year dawns. In the meantime he must be busy devising the details of his probable visit to the Devil's Island, the Nazi concentration camps and the Roman Stronghold where Signor Mussolini's political foes are kept in perpetual captivity. If for nothing else he can undertake them as being the most competent person to give his independent opinions as an international authority on the intimacies of prison life. Certainly he would not be averse to the allowances and honours that usually go with them. Anyhow we wish him good-luck.

The Radical Youth Conference.

The Madras Presidency Radical Youth Conference was a success beyond expectations. All the elder prophets of politics were astounded to hear about a record gathering which assembled in the Pachiappa's Hall quite contrary to their forecast that very few people would take any notice of the Conference. We are informed by some responsible congress leaders that the youth conference was attended by more people than the Political Conference held by the local congress committee sometime back.

Delegates from all parts of the Presidency had come to the Conference. True to its name, the Conference was radical enough—in fact much more radical than was expected. The gathering consisted of only young men and women unlike other youth conferences where old men in the name of youth would predominate. It was impossible to find any one in the gathering above the age of thirty-five. Miss. Maniben Kara came down from Bombay to preside over the Conference. Her speech was a clarion call to the youths of the Presidency to cast off their lethargy and organise their forces to continue the struggle for the freedom of the country. It was pulsated with enough radicalism and challenged the Congress programme for the attainment of Independence. She had suggested certain measures in her speech by which she wanted to radicalise the conference and make it a genuine anti-Imperialist organisation.

The Conference discussed various problems facing the country. It passed resolutions on War, Independence and reforms. It had warned the Government and the Congress. But a resolution demanding the democratisation of the Congress sponsored by the President was thrown out by the Conference which in our opinion was inconsistent with the general view adopted by the delegates on similar problems. But probably consistency was not a virtue on this issue and one has to submit to the decision of the majority in order to maintain harmony in the work in which all are engaged. The noteworthy feature of the Conference was the starting of a permanent organisation called the "Madras Presidency Youth League" to organise the Youth of the Presidency with a view to prepare them for the fight for political and economic emancipation of the masses. Let us hope that the institution will not lag behind in its work

and will give a correct lead to the Youths of the land.

The A. I. C. C. Meeting

Madras City had the unique honour of being the centre of attraction throughout India in the middle of last month. The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress and the A.I.C.C. met in this city to transact Congress business which on analysis would be found to be nothing of a far reaching nature. In the words of one of the A.I.C.C. members, "To the Working Committee, everything is premature, the consideration of vital questions like War, the acceptance of office, are all premature—in fact the Working Committee itself is premature." We believe that this member is grieved at the idea of the A. I. C. C. post—poning the questions of discussing about the issue of Acceptance of office. As we had stated in our previous issues, the main problem that confronts the reformist wing of the Congress today is the question of Acceptance of office under the benevolent guidance of British Imperialism. Mr. Prakasam, the President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee is tired of the pusillanimity and his negotiations with the Zamindars of Andhra for whom he has a soft corner, are hampered on account of the sphinx-like attitude of the Working Committee. He therefore wanted to lift the veil of this mysterious game and championed his cause for deciding this issue with his army of seven more followers. He had of course grievance against the leaders of Tamil Nadu especially against the unremitting volcano of reformist cult, Mr. Satyamurti who all on a sudden became silent on this issue. So 'betrayed' by his co-enthusiasts and deserted by the collegues of the other provinces Mr. Prakasam had to plough his lonely furrow awaiting for the Lucknow session to drive his scheme of fighting the enemy from within. To the average person, these diplomatic overtures of the executive of the Congress are of minor importance. One has a right to ask whether the Congress is going to reach the lowest depths of degradation by ceasing to be a fighting institution or raise again in the estimation of the masses by carrying on a continued campaign of resistance against foreign rule. From the present leadership of the Congress it is futile to expect any progressive programme of work which will inspire confidence in all anti-Imperialist elements of our country. Still it will be disastrous if the leaders are allowed to have their own way in committing the Congress to a course of work that is fraught with plenty of mischief in as much as it compromises the position of the Congress on fundamental principles of politics. The rank and file should assert and see that the ideal of independence is not lowered and the Congress not committed to the policy of continued surrender.

The Madras Corporation and Nariman

The Corporation of Madras is dominated by a senile, decomposed anti-national, pro-Imperialist party, namely the discredited justice party, the members of which are as much degenerate as the Party itself in its outlook. This group refused to vote for an address to Babu Rajendra Prasad on his visit to the City of Madras as the President of the Indian National Congress and the Corporation in a niggardly way voted for an address to Mr. K. F. Nariman one of the members of the Working Committee and the present Mayor of Bombay while he came to Madras for the Working Committee Meeting. This created an anomalous situation and Nariman did not wish to be honoured by an institution which overlooked the claims of his own chief. He therefore rightly refused to accept the address and went without it.

In refusing to present an address to Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Corporation stultified itself and Rajendra Prasad has not been affected in the least. But the citizens of Madras will not forget those lackeys who vote addresses to every Tom, Dick or Harry, but refused to honour a man of worth and sacrifices.

GOPALJEE CHAMPSHI & CO.,
No. 198, Govindappa Naick Street, G. T., Madras.
182729

When poverty haunts the society, when millions are deprived of even the most elementary needs of life, when the masses of men are unemployed without work, there is something fundamentally wrong with the system that is responsible for the above state of affairs. Then the only course open to men of sanity and vision is to put an end to that system.

Things That make You Fashionable

JALTARANG

Latest Designs for Jackets in Silk

BANGLES

WITH PURE GOLD LEAF IN THE MIDDLE ROUND ABOUT, UNBREAKABLE, FLEXIBLE ONLY ANNAS FIVE A PAIR.

DOUBLE GUINEA

BRAND SAREES

SIMPLY TEMPTING BORDERS.

AMPLE VARIETIES TO PICK & CHOOSE

NOW BEING DISPLAYED

AT

NATIONAL EMPORIUM

REPUTED HOUSE OF FASHIONS AND NOVELTIES

(OPP : HIGH COURT, MADRAS.)

IS IT A CRIME?

What is a crime? How can you decide whether it is a crime or not? These are the questions that crop up in your mind when you see the above title. Therefore, the best way to understand what is a crime is to go through the book itself. It is one of the most entertaining novels you have heard of.

Send for a copy at once

Sole Agents

P. R. RAMA IYER & CO.,

ESPLANADE. :: :: **MADRAS.**

IF YOU DESIRE

To take up a New Life Policy or add to your Insurance

IT WILL PAY YOU TO CONSULT

THE GUARDIAN OF INDIA

INSURANCE COMPANY, LIMITED

You can receive full particulars of
the various attractive Policies issued
by the Company from the HEAD OFFICE
of the Company or its numerous Agents
all over South India.

Head Office,
11, Mount Road,
Post Box No. 361
Madras.

N. NARAYANAN,
Manager.

The New Age

This journal is devoted to the discussion of current Political, Economic and Social problems of our country with an advanced outlook. It brings the message of freedom to one and all and is a source of abiding interest.

Become a Subscriber at once by sending to the office Re. 1/- the yearly subscription.

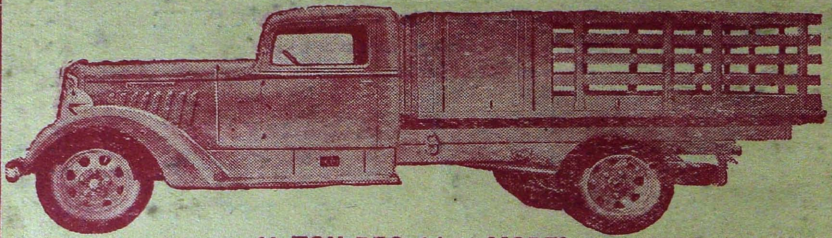
THE MANAGER,
The New Age Office
3, Kondi Chetty Street, MADRAS.

Registered No. M. 3099

1935 REO TRUCKS

PRICES LOWER THAN EVER BEFORE

EXTREME GASOLINE ECONOMY



1½ TON REO 1A 4 MODEL.

- SMARTEST IN STYLE
- BRILLIANT IN PERFORMANCE
- LOW IN INITIAL COST & MAINTENANCE
- LATEST IN REO

DISTRIBUTORS:

RANE (MADRAS) LIMITED,

MOUNT ROAD : : MADRAS.

Printed by V. Krishnaswami Iyengar, at the B. N. PRESS, Mount Road, and
Published by D. V. NATHAN, at 3, Kondi Chetty Street, Madras.